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ELLSBERG'S STATEMENT

I am very happy that we have just heard from a presidential candidate on the importance of the United States at last fulfilling its obligations under the two ratified treaties, the non-proliferation treaty and the limited test ban treaty, to negotiate speedily the comprehensive test ban, and meanwhile to stop the testing of nuclear weapons. Actually, the Democratic nominee in this last election, Walter Mondale, committed himself to do on his first day in office, to do, if he had been elected, what the Soviets have now done; initiate a moratorium on testing nuclear weapons and calling the Soviets to join him. That was in the Democratic party platform. P It was not for that reason that the Democrats lost. The American voters did not vote against that commitment in 1984. As Daniel Yankorovich's polls showed, two-thirds of the American public were calling in 1984 on the United States to make just such an initiative. It has been left to the Soviets instead to do it. P We should now stop testing nuclear warheads, and start testing the Russians. The Soviets have said that they will stop, that they have stopped the testing of nuclear warheads, not for five months, but forever, if the U.S. joins them by the end of this year. They have given us five months to decide, through our congressional process and for our executive branch, that we will join them. Five months to decide to join them in the end in this test ban, moratorium, and negotiate a test ban. And they say that if we join them by December 31st, they will not be the first to resume. P It is time for us to test that. To stop talking about stopping tests, And to stop. To stop talking

about our lack of trust in the Soviets, and to find out if they're serious about what they say. There's only one way to do that.

~~I repeat~~. That is, before the end of this year, to stop the testing of nuclear weapons, <sup>while we</sup> ~~and to commit ourselves to~~ negotiate a test ban, and to commit ourselves not to be the first to resume.

¶ For years, those of us in the Freeze <sup>movement and those</sup> ~~and~~ who have pressed for a test ban, have been challenged, "Are the Soviets willing to halt?" To which we could only answer, "Let's find out." Now the question is different, as of August 6th. <sup>we</sup> ~~we~~ are being tested. Are we willing to halt? ¶ There should be only one clear answer to that. It is time for us to complete the task that John F. Kennedy set for this country and for the world, 22 years ago, in 1963, when he committed the United States, eventually in a ratified treaty, to seek a comprehensive test ban. He launched that, ~~as a first step~~, in fact, with <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ unilateral initiative — <sup>of the kind that have</sup> ~~that~~ the Soviets had just taken by stopping atmospheric testing unilaterally. And that <sup>the effect — in a</sup> ~~had~~ the happy precedent of leading within <sup>four</sup> ~~two~~ months to a ratified treaty <sup>ending</sup> ~~on the~~ atmospheric tests. ¶ We should now complete that task that John F. Kennedy launched us on 22 years ago. End <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ nuclear tests forever. That is within our grasp. And if the President is unwilling to follow the wishes of the American people in this respect, and to obey his treaty obligations under the Limited Test Ban Treaty, <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ the Non-Proliferation Treaty, <sup>to</sup> ~~to~~ negotiate this, Congress has the power to fulfill those obligations by making money for funding contingent on Soviet testing. <sup>That way we</sup> ~~And~~ find out whether <sup>the Soviets</sup> ~~they~~ are willing to end <sup>testing forever</sup> ~~them (?)~~. The 40th year of nuclear testing for

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the United States, the 36th year for the Soviet Union, can be  
the last, if our democracy works.

[APPLAUSE]

[END OF STATEMENT]

I'D LIKE TO ADDRESS THIS TO BOTH REVEREND JACKSON AND TO MR. ELLSBERG. HOW DO YOU ANSWER THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHO ARE HAVING FEELINGS OF HELPLESSNESS AND HOPELESSNESS THAT ONE PERSON--THAT THEY CANNOT MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE? AND SECONDLY, HOW DO YOU ANSWER CHARGES THAT THE SOVIETS WITH THEIR MORATORIUM AND ADS IN THE NEW YORK TIMES ARE JUST ENGAGING IN A MASSIVE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN, TO SHED GOOD LIGHT ON THEM, AND PERHAPS NEGATIVE LIGHT ON THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT, AS THEY GO INTO THIS FALL SUMMIT?

Well, who is engaging in propaganda has come out very clearly since the White House reaction to the Soviet announcement. The White House announced that the Soviets had just conducted a spurt of testing, ~~and~~ an unprecedented acceleration of testing which obliged <sup>US</sup> ~~up~~ to continue. They didn't mention the number of Soviet tests, or <sup>the</sup> ~~a~~ number of U.S. tests. The figures have now come out. The Soviets have conducted seven tests in the first seven months of 1985, the U.S. has <sup>conducted</sup> ~~conducted eight. Or nine,~~ ~~in fact.~~ And the Soviet tests are in fact the lowest number for this period of time in the last several years, possibly the lowest in the last 20 years. So ~~these~~ the U.S. is conducting blatant propaganda in attempting to evade its treaty ~~signed~~ obligations to negotiate a comprehensive test ban. <sup>JP</sup> They're lowering national security in doing so. As they <sup>will</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~doing so with today's announcement~~ ~~on~~ the anti-satellite test that is <sup>announced today,</sup> ~~proposed.~~ When we test that <sup>weapon,</sup> ~~if Congress, and Congress is not in session--~~ Congress fails ~~then to stop that,~~ that will have another effect. It will end another moratorium, which will lead to <sup>renewed</sup> ~~further~~ Soviet testing. <sup>Two</sup> ~~Several~~ years ago the Soviets announced that ~~two years~~ ~~they had suspended anti-satellite testing and that~~ ~~ago, that~~ they would not be the first to resume, ~~anti-satellite~~



~~testing.~~ They have kept that commitment, and President Reagan has not pretended otherwise. If then, ~~we continue, if~~ we start this testing, ~~again,~~ the Soviets will resume, ~~and~~ that will lower American security. It will put our satellites under risk.

*P* We must save President Reagan from himself. We must save ourselves from ~~this~~ <sup>his</sup> policy on this. Fortunately, in this country we have another branch of government. We can end anti-satellite testing eventually, and we can end ~~testing in the~~ underground testing of nuclear warheads the same way the Vietnam War was ended, against the wishes of powerful Presidents. ~~Nixon, whether~~ Nixon liked it or not--he didn't like it--he acknowledged the power of the people and of democracy in this country, in saying that it was Congress who took away the money for the bombing of Vietnam. ~~It~~ <sup>It</sup> is Congress that can take away the money for the continued bombing of Nevada, at last. ~~And~~ <sup>They</sup> should do so.

END OF ELLSBERG'S PARTICIPATION IN PRESS CONFERENCE.